LETTER

TO

W. KINGSBURY, OF SOUTHAMPTON, M. A.

IN ANSWER TO HIS

Apology for Village Preachers;

AND HIS

ANIMADVERSIONS

ON A PART OF

An Appeal to the People.

By BRIAN MONCKHOUSE.

one of the most disgusting strokes, in the Puritanical character of the times, was, gentle language and bumble cant in the midst of treason; and their flattery to their Prince, while they were attempting to detbrone and destroy him."

Goldsmith's History of England, vol. ii. p. 371, 372.

Salifburp: ..

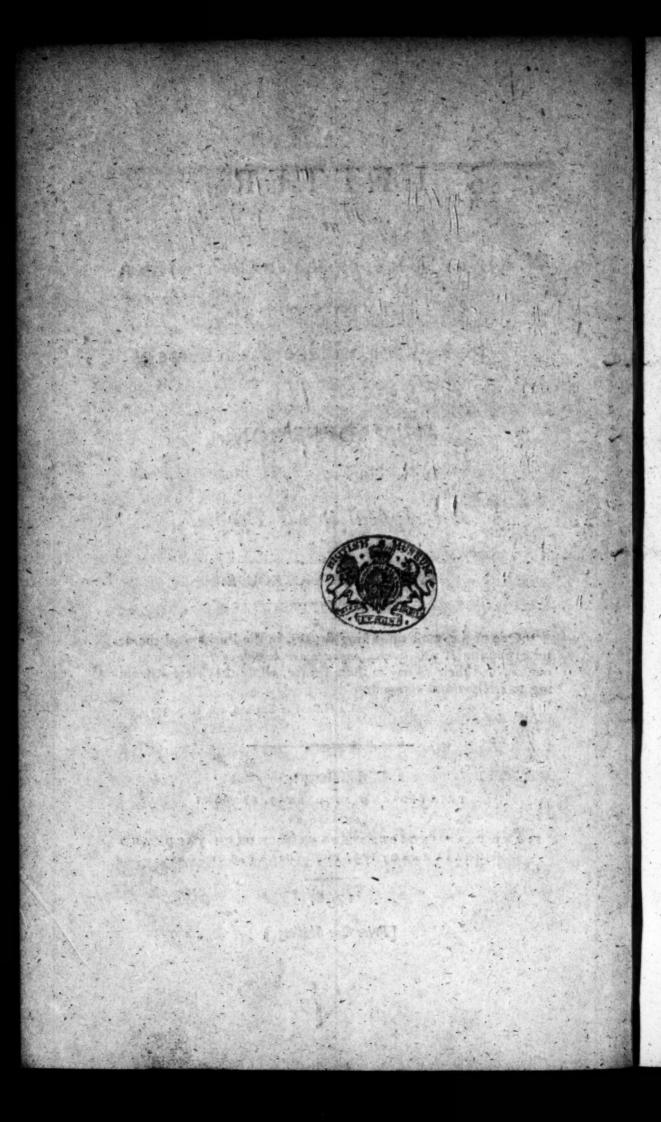
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A LETTER, &c.

SIR,

THE "APPEAL to the PEOPLE," on which you have made some severe animadversions, (how justly, we shall see, as we pass on,) I have read more than once; and cannot say, but I approve of the time, at which that production appeared, as well as the manner, in which, generally speaking, it is drawn up. It appears to me to have been the intention of the Writer, first, to expose to the people the weakness of the Dissenters' principal objections to conformity; and, secondly, to put them upon their guard, at this eventful criss, against any politi-

political designs, they may be desirous, either from their own private principles, or from the interposition of foreign agents, of executing under the cloak of religion.

The first thing, which strikes my mind, in confidering your Apology, which, as a compofition, is written with great skill and judgment, is the length of time, which has elapsed, fince the beginning of the controversy, before its publication. Two months and upwards, is a long period for a man, who has pretentions to ability, a reputed leader and a principal also of any particular sect of Dissenters, to be employed in producing a pamphlet of fifty pages in its defence. But, as I mean not to reproach you for any temporary stagnation of ideas, or to carp at trifles, I will confine my observations to the nature of your Apology and the justness of your animadversions: for, surely, after you have taken so much time, in examining authorities, and drawing up the materials, one might reafonably expect, at least, correctness and truth.

At the beginning of your Preface, by way of apologising for the great "notice you have taken of an Anonymous pamphlet," you desire, it may be "considered, that the things, which

have been so broadly spoken by its Author, will probably be infinuated by more able, and even excellent men." But let me ask you; if men, who excel others, will infinuate fuch things, as are broadly spoken by the gentleman alluded to, will not their infinuation prove the conviction of their minds, as to the truth of what they infinuate; and is it not, therefore, a complete justification of the broad language of the Appeal? Will it not prove, at the same time, which you certainly did not intend, the inferiority of excellent men to the Author of the Appeal, in a degree, proportionate to the superiour value of ingenuousness and candour over disguise and diffimulation? But, that excellent men should be deemed capable of dark infinuation, and oblique calumny, is not very intelligible in point of sense. Should they be "unacquainted also with the proceedings and motives of village preachers," excellent men will not infinuate a charge against the patriotism of their proceedings, or the purity of their motives. Your ideas on this fubject, Sir, I must say, appear a little confused.

"With the controversy between the church of England and the Dissenters, though so much enlarged upon by the Appellant," you say, "your

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inclination led you not to meddle;" for this good reason, I humbly presume, because the arguments, brought by this Appellant, whom you affect not much to value, as an adversary, appeared to you irrefutable. As you have made only a small part of the Appeal so much the subject of your animadversion, as to occupy a place in almost every page, you cannot have so humble an opinion of your Antagonist, as you would wish us to believe. Nor does it "appear, that he knows very little of the grounds and reasons of your dissent." For, the grounds and reasons, against which he has brought arguments, are stated by him, (p. 1.) as " the principal objections, ufually alleged." In regard to the grounds and reasons of your particular disfent, you refer your Reader to authors on your own fide only. Your deficiency I will supply, by referring to authors on the other fide also: for, audi alteram partem, is a received axiom in law.* But should you and your friends have

-Boilon

[•] See, Three Letters to a Gentleman, dissenting from the church of England, by John White, B. D.—Also, The Bishop of Worcester's Vindication of the Government, Doctrine, and Worship of the Church of England.—Also, A Letter to the Protestant dissenting Ministers, who lately solicited parliament for further relief, 1772.

other grounds and reasons of your dissent, than those, contained in Towgood's Letters, let us know, what they are; and, I doubt not, should your minds be open to conviction, and you sincere and true men, but you will soon be satisfied of their insufficiency to justify a separation.

The Author of the Appeal, you have faid, " frequently makes contempt and abuse supply the place of argument." But what language shall we apply to the Author of the Apology, who, a little farther on, fays; "the persons, who use modes of worship, most approved among all denominations, are little better than machines?" Is this charity? Is this that language of brotherly love, which you recommend? Or, is it not the fame species of abuse and calumny, which you pretend to reprobate in your opponent? And yet you fay in the next fentence, " I have endeavoured to watch and pray against an improper spirit!" I am forry, Sir, your watchings and prayers have produced fuch bad fruit.

"Fain would you persuade yourself (p. 8.) that the Author of the Appeal is not one of the Protestant Clergy, in the church of England:" because, suspecting the purity of your intentions,

tions, he has given his opinion only, from the past and present conduct of your brethren, that your "real object is not religious, but political; and that this object leads you to alienate the attachment of the people to the established church, as the ground-work and foundation of some secret design in the field of politics." This you have called "a scheme just batched, and sufficiently diabolical and hypocritical to have disgraced the ancient Jesuits." But, let us examine, how far history will justify these severe animadversions; and whether a similar scheme and similar conduct were not hatched and adopted by your Puritanical ancestors.

The History of England, abridged by Gold-smith from the works chiefly of Rapin, Carte, Smollett, and Hume, has been referred to by your opponent, on account of its admitted strict impartiality. You have justly observed, (p. 26.) "it was the fashion and spirit of the times, for forty years after the death of Charles I., for the different parties to draw each other's characters, with all the extravagance of line and colouring, which prejudice and the force of passion could, with any appearance of probability, mingle together and lay on." To Goldsmith, therefore,

as to a man, who lived more, than one hundred years, after the transactions of that period, and destitute of "prejudice and passion," let us refer this, and every other point at issue between us, respecting the truth of historical facts. To this proposal, if an honest man, as, I hope, you are, you will most readily accede.

Goldsmith's Reign of Charles I. I have lately read, and read attentively, and do therefore deny, that "this scheme was first batched" by the Author of the Appeal. That historian writes;* " The Puritans in Scotland were republicans in principle, as well as those in England: and they only wished to see the Bishops first bumbled, in order to make a more successful attack upon unguarded monarchy. The republican party in the present parliament resolved to destroy monarchy; and began their operations by a refolution to attack episcopacy, which was one of the strongest bulwarks of the royal power." All your affected concern, therefore, " for the honour of the Protestant Clergy," and your coarse observations upon this passage are entirely thrown away, and very much impair your credit, as an Author.

[.] Vol. ii. p. 368, 384, 385.

Whether you were really ignorant of this circumstance, or only pretended ignorance, is equally censurable.—Having detected the falseness of your animadversions on this passage, I will leave you to make your resections upon it.

Your Adversary recommends to ignorant people "implicitly to rely on those ministers, who are legally established to instruct them." Implicitly, you have marked in Italics; in order to prove, that it is "frongly scented with Popery." Suppose a man, who is ignorant of the nature of medicine, attacked by a violent disorder; or another, involved in a law suit, and wanting the advice of council; would they not act the part of madmen, where a physician is called in, or a lawyer confulted, not to rely implicitly on their directions and advice? How much more so, when the disorder affects, not the corporal, but the spiritual part of man! Those, who have been educated in any particular branch of science, are justly supposed most competent to advise. To whom, therefore, mould the ignorant and unenlightened apply for spiritual direction, but to those, whose bufiness and inclination it is, to instruct them; and who have, like physicians and lawyers in

our temporal concerns, been educated for that express purpose? Is not the gentleman right, therefore, in advising those people, "who through a deficiency in their education, are incapable of forming a decisive and correct judgment on such important subjects, implicitly to rely on those ministers, "who are legally established to instruct them? I will leave this question to the decision, not of you, but of the impartial world; and also, whether it partake at all of the nature of Popery?

The next paffage, which you have quoted from the Appeal, to make the subject of your animadversion, states, that "the very dregs of the people, you have shewn yourselves anxious and indefatigable to convert: men, possessed of no property, and of understandings, weak and unprincipled: thoughtless in the common concerns of life, and without any fixed opinion." Such men, as these, "it must be admitted," would prove, as your Opponent says, in case of a political convulsion, or of political designs, " pliant and able instruments under the direction of an ambitious and defigning faction." The meaning of this passage you feem, either to have misunderstood, or to have misreprefented

sented. It appears to me, and must, I think, appear the same to impartial people, that the Author intended to mean, that the dregs of the people you were anxious and indefatigable not to instruct, conscientiously, in the way of falvation, as you affect to receive it; but to convert to your own private way of thinking, in opposition to the established Church, on things religious; and that after you have fecured them in your religious persuasion, you will, at proper time gradually unfold to them your political tenets, and political plans, also; (for fuch he feems to think you have, grounding his opinion upon this your present conduct, and upon the past conduct of your ancestors;) and that fuch men will then prove " pliant and able instruments, under the direction of an ambitious and defigning faction." "Their fouls are certainly as precious, as those of the rich in this world. They are not despised;" but confidered as proper objects of religious attention; and are instructed in every parish in this kingdom, without the intrusion of uninformed and pragmatical men, 'whose own the sheep are not,' in the knowledge of falvation, and urged

urged to flee from the wrath to come."
(p. 11.)

Your brethren, whom you mention, as being "fent forth, though not ministers, into such places," are, I suppose, some of the "Tailors, Cabinet-makers, Shoemakers, Coblers, Bakers, Blacksmiths, &c." These men, you affirm, (p. 14.) "have been favoured with the knowledge and power of religion." By your introducing the words, "favoured with the power of religion," we are led to imagine, that you meant, they are favoured with the gift, either of inspiration, or of performing miracles, or of both. This equivocal sentence, therefore, I think, it becomes you to clear up and explain.

What you have represented, as the employment of these people, is not an irreligious employment, if your statement be correct: nor is it in itself "very formidable." But having only your ipse dixit for the truth of it, and having already detected you in one manifest error, and as I shall, very soon, detect you in more, we have reason to entertain doubts.

"Where regular and professional men are wanting and negligent," you have endeavoured, figuratively, (p. 13, 14.) to enforce "the propriety

priety of employing occasional practitioners," or, in other words, (still preserving the beauty of the figure,) empiricks in medicine; " who understand," as well as can be understood by illiterate " Tailors, Cabinet-makers, Shoemakers, Coblers, Bakers, and Blacksmiths," " the difeafe and cure of human nature." But where regular and professional men are not wanting, or are not negligent, I ask you, in the name of common sense, would you desire to employ those, whom you finely term, "occasional practitioners?" Who knows not, that quacks kill more, than they cure? All your arguments, in favour of village preaching, do therefore, according to your own alleged principles, immediately fall to the ground, where the national Clergy refide in their respective parishes; or are not negligent in their professional employment. Your hypothetical propositions, "if I have found a medicine, if I see others fick, if there be no fuitable help at hand, no skilful doctor in the village," have no force, where there is fuitable help at hand; where there is a skilful doctor in the village. In these cases, which you call, "ordinary cases," you admit, you " have nothing to plead in favour of an uneducated

cated irregular ministry." It is in extraordinary cases only, therefore, we have your own words for saying, you are an advocate for it. Here you contradict yourself; by admitting, that the Clergy are neither wanting, nor negligent in their duty, but on extraordinary occasions. For, you have before told us, (p, 10.) that "consideration beheld multitudes in our neighbouring villages and forests, who were far from any means of instruction; living without Christ, without hope, without God in the world." You have admitted the attention of the established Clergy to their official duties, extraordinary cases excepted, and yet are an apologist for village preaching in general!

But is it, truly and in fact, as you, (p. 31.) and your coadjutor, Mr. Clift,* have positively averred, on the honour of your sacred profession, that your "village teachers go, for the most part, into places, where there are no parish churches, or where the services are feldom performed, or at uncertain bours, which the parishioners are not apprised of, or in the most

^{*} See Clift's Incidental Letter to the Bishop of Salisbury, August 9, 1798, p. 4.

curfory and hafty manner;" and that you " have never interfered, wherever a zealous minister bas been found?" I am forry to impeach the truth of your declarations. But I feel myfelf obliged to ask, if it be not generally known to the whole kingdom, and notorious to the whole neighbourhood of Salifbury, that your preachers have endeavoured to establish themfelves, indiscriminately, in every village, which would receive them; not confidering, whether its Minister were attentive to his duty or not; not confidering, whether there were parish churches; whether the services were seldom performed; or at uncertain hours; or in the most cursory manner? Nay, so far did their boldness carry them, during the last year only, that an itinerant blacksmith in Salisbury, and fome others, dared week after week, and month after month, to intrude themselves among the flock of the Reverend Dean and his Curate; the former of whom does, for eight or nine months in the year, and the latter does, constantly reside in the midst of them. And surely, neither you, nor Mr. Clift will affirm, that the Dean of Salisbury, is an inattentive minister; or that the divine service of his church is feldom performed;

or at uncertain bours; or in the most curfory and bafty manner. You cannot affirm this; because the direct contrary is known to be fact. But did I fay, you cannot affirm this? You may, Sir, with as much truth and strictness affirm this, as affirm the preceding quotation. When a man is determined to justify his cause, right or wrong, he is fure, in the latter case, to commit some blunder, which betrays the weakness of it. Nor will the falseness of his affertions always escape detection by their boldness. Had Mr. Clift only made this unfounded declaration, it might have been passed over without comment. But when the same thing is infifted upon fo often, as positive facts not only by him, but by you also, who consider yourself, it is faid, the chief of your fect, in this district, and have undoubtedly just pretentions to ability, it may, were it to remain uncontradicted, and the contradiction proved, be believed by some people to be true. I am almost tempted to fay, which I am not at all defirous of faying, that it betrays a premeditated defign on your parts to deceive.

But this is not the only false statement, your plausible Apology has attempted to impose upon the

worldly gain be their object? The Appellant has indeed afferted, 'that these men do actually, at this moment, receive a salary from an affociation of members, formed for that purpose.'— I call upon him to prove his affertion. In the mean while, I pledge myself with the public, that it is entirely groundless." I do not pretend to be acquainted with the sources of information, which the Author of the Appeal is possessed of; but out of your own mouth, and out of the mouth of Mr. Clist, will I convict you. I will prove from your own words, that such an affertion is not entirely groundless; but that your positive statement must be false.

That it is not entirely groundless, is clear: for you say, in the second sentence immediately sollowing; (again contradicting yourself,) that the village preachers, "who are poor," meaning, I suppose, the journeymen Tailors, Coblers, Bakers, and Blacksmiths, "are allowed their expences, when they leave home." But "from what fund can it arise," you triumphantly exclaim? Mr. Clift shall answer you himself. "The profits, arising from the sale of this Tract, will be applied in aid of the Country Fund, for

the encouragement of village preaching." That Wir. Clift has " full information" on this fubject, he himself has told as in his Letter; (p.q.) "having been acquainted with almost every plan formed, and, more or defs, taken an active para in the work; ever fince the year 1793." "From what funds could arife falaries for fifty men from one place only," is a question, answered by yourself in a preceding sentence: what " fome of those, who go into the villages, though not fich, are reputable, as to their outward circumfances, and would from a fee; and that those, who are poorer, are only allowed rheir expences, when they leave home." It requires not, therefore, " immense revenues." Your affociated minister, Mr. Chift, has told in his before-montioned Letter, (p. 5, 6.) " that the expence is but trifling, in comparison to nobat your Lordship may suppose;" and that " what additional expence is incurred, our more regular churches willingly contribute to supply."

From these extracts and these observations I have clearly proved, that the affertion, quoted

[•] See the Advertisement of Clift's Incidental Letter to the Bishop of Sarum, inserted by his own authority in the Salisbury Journal, October 8, last.

from the Appeal, is not entirely groundless; though you have had the rashness to pledge yourself to the public, that it is entirely groundless. We may, from this instance of your veracity, form some opinion, how far your other allegations are to be credited.

With the precise number of Itinerants, who leave Salisbury every Sabbath, it appears to me, that the Author of the Appeal is not acquainted. For, in one place, (p. 17.) he states it to be between fifty and fixty, and, in another, (p. 40.) he confines it to fifty; not pledging either the learned Bishop's, or his own authority for the truth of it, but resting the whole on information only. However it fignifies very little, what the precise number is; whether it be one or two more, or one or two less, than fifty. Nor do I believe, that it is accurately known even to yourfelf, though you fay, it " may be so easily disproved." For (p. 45.) you admit the possibility, that " wretches may arise so depraved, as to assume the itinerant character." If it may be so easily disproved, why did not you disprove it, and tell us precisely, but candidly and truly, what the number is. It is certain and indisputable, that a very great number of the description, contained

tained in the Appeal, (p. 18.) of "Tailors, Cabinet-makers, Shoemakers, Coblers, Bakers,.. and Blacksmiths," does actually, on a Sabbath, fally forth under, I presume, your direction; and many of them with only your licence in their pockets, or vaned in our coming employed

secount.

You introduce, (p. 19.) for the second time, your Adversary's opinion, that your real object is not religious, but political, &c. &c.; and then descant on it with much warmth. But, furely, you are not fuch an enemy to the liberty of mankind, as to deny the existence of the natural right of forming an opinion. The reasons, upon which he grounds his opinion, the Author has given in an open manner, in the following words: (p. 32.) " Such conduct, adopted under existing circumstances, and compared with their conduct in former periods of the English history, infinuates into my mind the opinion," &c. On the justness of his opinion he has left to the world to decide. I have not been able to difcover, that he wishes to erect his opinion, "as infallible." At the same time, permit me to fay, that every man, who has read his reasons, his quoted authority, and will read the reasons and authority, which I will foon produce, and

has made observations on the general conduct of many of the Diffenters, will not condemn him for having formed fuch an opinion; nor think, that his cautionary exhortation is altogether unfeafonable. "Such villains, as he represents, enemies to our happy constitution, are to be found;" and though you with (p. 20.) to fee them ar stripped of their odious veil, (and ftripped naked too,) expeled to the infulting crowd, and punished with his stripes," yet I much doubt, that he will deem it prudent to gratify your wish. One would not in charity suppose from your warmth, that you felt con-Icious of " fome deep political defign;" because son have mentioned the severity of the fleipes, which the Author of the Appeal is capable of inflicting. I have faid, quoting your words, that fuch villains are to be found: one inflance of which I will give; and give it upon the authority of many respectable people, neighbours of the person accused. I will give it, because the person holds, even now, a conspicuous station amongst Diffenters, is a Minister, an Author, and a Master of Arts too, Sir, as well as yourfelf. But were I even an "Anonymous accuser," it does not follow, that I am, on this account.

account, not to, " be believed," or that Lutter falschoods. I cannot expose him more, then his conduct has exposed him " to the insulting crowd." The person alluded to is the Rev. I A.M.; who has for a number of years relided, and been a diffenting Minister, in a populous town, in the county of Somerfeta Every one will fee the propriety of my not writing his name in full language. The fact of his personal exertions among the lower class of mankind, to convert them to his own political way of thinking hostiles as it avowedly is to our present constitution, is known in that neighbourhood; by hundreds: many of whom were present at a very severe reproof, he not long ago received, on this account from the constituted magistrates of that town. The perfonal confequence to himself of this conduct was; by the loyal part of his fellow-townmen he was univerfally, reprobated; but by his diffenting brethren no less cordially received

From the objections, which you prolaptically raife (from p. 20 to 42.) against village preaching and answer yourself with an "infallible tone," one would suppose that there were in this kingdom, no parish churches no divine

fervice,

the service, no established Clergy, to take care of fouls of men, and to instruct them in the way of falvation; or, if there are men, ordained for this purpose, with suitable provision, that they are all, without distinction, as it is broadly hinted, (p. 34.) the very reverse of what they ought to be; that they are all "profane, and lewd, and vain, and gay; that they drink with the drunken, fwear with the profane, or encourage fwearing or fneering at godliness by their countenance; that they confume all their precious time in vain amusements; that they are negligent of their flock, are proud and haughty, and never converse with them about their eternal concerns." And, on this presumption, false as it undoubtedly is, you ground your Apology for Village Preaching Land to starting an heart introp

and proved, I hope, "in plain language; the poison of infidelity is endeavoured to be checked, the pernicious principles of PAINE are warned against," by the national Clergy. They show the inhabitants the misery of a fallen state, the odiousness and danger of vice, the gulf of eternal destruction, which is before them, and urge them to see to Him, who only can deliver from

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the wrath to come;" (p. 31.) and want not the intrusion of Aliens and Pragmatists, to raise divisions, and to create jealousies among the flock. If you, and your brethren, "love the doctrine of the established Church," as you say; (p. 30.) if " you are fatisfied with her discipline; if many of you admire, and fometimes adopt, parts of her Liturgy," why, in the name of peace, do you feparate from her communion; and endeavour to establish a Church within a Church? Why are you to reftless, and discontented with your condition? And, why do not you quietly submit to the rules and ceremonies of that Church, whose doctrine you confessedly love, whose discipline you are satisfied with; and parts of whose Liturgy you admire and adopt? If you "are not fuch bigots, as to confine falvation within the circle of a fect," (p. 53.) you have hardly the candour to admit, there is any goodness, but in ministers of your own perfuation. They only feem, in your eyes, (p. 330) to answer Saint Paul's description of a Paftor; (1 Timi iii, 2-7.) "blamelefs, vigilant, fober, of good behaviour, given to bospitality, apt (i.e. able and willing) to teach; not given to wine, no striker, nor greedy of filthy lucre, but patient, With

taleth well his own house, having his children in subjection with all gravity; not a novine, less being lifted up with pride he fall into the condemnation of the devil. Moreover he must have a good report of them, which are without, less he fall into neproach, and the snare of the devil."

In regard to Biltiop Jewel's Apology for the Church of England, quoted by you, (p. 49, 50.) I have only to observe, that, whenever you can prove, you have the same substantial reasons for separating from our established Church, as our Reformers had, for withdrawing from the Roman Church, and can prove yourselves, as virtuous and exemplary, as " Christ and his Apost tles," then, and not before Mall the Bishop's Apology, be admitted, as being in point. Any body of men, arraigned at the bar of justice for treason, may say, as you have done, in the words of Bishop Jewel: "They roar out in all places, that we are hereticks; that we are wicked men; that we despite all good (actions; that our buliness and design is the subverting monarchies and kingdoms," &c. But it does not hence follow, that they are innocent of the charge in thrings nor crowds of the language.

With respect to the Clergy of the establishment, you fay, (p. 51.) "I hope, I have faid nothing throughout these sheets, difrespectful of these who fulfil their ministry." It app pears note to me that you have uniformly admitted, that the Clergy of the establishment, do. any of them, fulfil their ministry. For though you admit in one place, there are " many worn thy ministers and others both in and out of the oftablifoment who long for the falvation of men," yet in other places, you censure the national Clergy indifferiminately; and it is upon the affumed principle, that they do not fulfil their ministry, all your arguments, in favour of village preaching, entirely reft. And here (p. 51.) you admit it only by implication, and with a very ill graces for a few fentences afterwards (p. 52.) your indirectly reproach them all, with out discrimination, for neglect of duty. Nav. you even point out the precise nature of their neglects forgetting what you recommended; (p. 48.) "never let us speak against the subalt body of the Clergy, and the whole church because of the faults of some of her faithless and ungodly fonst and even when we have opportunity let us not wantenly publish their feilings." Your Can

Your note (in p. 53.) I should, more properly perhaps, leave for your great Adversary to encounter, as being better qualified for the undertaking. But, should he not think fit to anfwer your Apology, or should he deem this Anfwer sufficient. I defire to make one observation. The Church of Rome we consider not a found part of the Catholic Church. We separated from her communion, because she had corrupted the leading principles of religion; and required of her members coincidence with those corruptions. No church is a found part of the Catholic Church, which maintains the doctrines of image worship, invocation of faints, transubstantiation, pardons, indulgences, facrifice of the mass, merit; supererogation, &cc. &c.; because such doctrines plainly contradict the Holy Scriptures. On the justness of this cause of our separation, as well as the truth of her own doctrines, the Roman Church, doubtless, "took upon herself to be the infallible judge." But the Author of the Appeal, to the observation, (p. 43.) that no man can innocently withdraw from the English national Church without a just cause, adds, and adds truly, what you have omitted, that " no cause

can be called just, which has not, for its base, a violation of the divine law." And to this fentence, I fee not, with what propriety you, Diffenters, can object. For, you cannot live in communion, as you ought, with the whole Christian Church, without actual communion with fome part of it. Your duty is, therefore, to ascertain, whether that part of the Catholic Church, wherein you live, be fo found, fo confiftent with Scripture, that you may lawfully maintain communion with it. If it be found and confistent you are bound to do so, under the peril of fcbifm from the Catholic Church: If it be not found, and not confistent with Scripture, your separation is praise-worthy; nay, you would fin, were you not to feparate.

As you have (p. 27, 28, 23.) made a long and eloquent declaration of your uniform and invariable attachment to the constitution of this country, and accused the Author of the Appeal of uttering "as groß a libel and as palpable a falsebood, as ever dropped from the pen of an enemy," when he said, that you have "uniformly displayed hostility to regal government," and that "all the distressful circumstances and tragical events, which marked the reign of the

Differences, as their principal and active promoters;" let us see, how far the testimony of the
importial historian, quoted in the Appeal, will
support your accusation; and to whom the
enime of uttering " palpable salsaboods," and
things, " totally destitute of salts," is more properly due; to the Author of the Appeal, or to
yourself. That the public may be able to deoide this question with justice, I will, in a regular manner, produce, first, the words of the
Appeal; next, your animadversions on them;
and lastly, the testimony of the historian.

ters of the rebellion, and all the diffressful circumstances and tragical events, which marked the reign of that unhappy prince: (Charles I.) in which brother daily contended with brother, and the arm of the son was uplifted against the parent of his existence? Who subverted, in that contest, the first principles of the constitution, and brought the unfortunate Charles to the block? Who, after these suggested at tempts, not only scated Cromwell upon his variance throne; under the fishing denomination of Protector; but also established, upon an image moveable

moveable base, his usurped authority? To use these questions the same general answer may be given; the Diffenters." (Appeal, p. 34, 35.)

"Totally defitute of facts, to support his malignant invectives, against the Diffenters, here he" (the Author of the Appeal) " feems to triumph, as if fure of his prey. He puts question after question, and answers them himfelf, with as infallible a tone, as if no one dared, or was able, to fay a lyllable in defence of the culprits. But had he been a little deeper read in history, than a boy at school, had he been diffosed to have gone a little farther in his enquiries into the affair, or had he reasoned a litthe closely on it, he might soon have seen, how improbable, as well as untrue it is, that fo small a part of the community should have been able to bring about fuch mighty changes. As to the unhappy civil war, which diffracted and rent the country, for fo many years, this was waged between the King and the Parliament. But was the Long parliament composed of Differenters! No?" (Apology, p. 23.)

Before I produce the authority of the historian, let me set you right in a sew things, which you seem not fully to understand. You

fay; " how improbable it is, that so small a part of the community should have been able to bring about fuch mighty changes." Do you not know, that a fmall part of the community, when in possession of power, as the Dissenters then were, are able to bring about mighty changes? Or, will you deny, that the Diffenters of that period were in possession of power? That they actually filled all the principal civil, ecclefiaftical, and military offices, I will foon prove. The civil war, you fay, was waged between the King and the Parliament. But was it not carried on by the adberents of the King, and the adherents of the Parliament; which included the whole nation? Your manner of expressing yourself seems to deny this truth.

Let us now receive the evidence of the Historian.—" We are apt to impute the disorders of those times rather to civil motives of establishing liberty, which, in reality, made but a very subordinate consideration. (p. 361.)*—Since the times of Elizabeth a new religious sect had been gaining ground in England; which, from the supposed purity of their manners, were called

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Goldsmith's History of England, vol. 2.

PURITANS. Of all other fects, this was the most dangerous to monarchy; and the tenets of it more calculated to support that imagined equality, which obtains in a state of nature. (p. 360.) -The PURITANS in Scotland were republicans in principle, as well as those in England; and they only wished to see the Bishops first humbled, in order to make a more successful attack upon unguarded monarchy. (p. 368.)-The pulpits, delivered over to the Puritanical preachers, whom the Commons, (the Long parliament) arbitrarily placed in all the confiderable churches, resounded with faction. (p. 378.)-The republican party in the present parliament resolved to destroy monarchy, and began their operations by a resolution to attack episcopacy, which was one of the strongest bulwarks of the royal power. (p. 384, 385.) - Faulkland perceived the defign of the parliament, (the Long parliament,) to overturn the religion and constitution of his country. (p. 399.) - The Puritans demanded a total abolition of the episcopacy and all church ceremonies. The parliament, (the Long parliament,) was obstinately bent upon removing the order of Bishops, and began with the foremost of the number. The death of LAUD was followed by a total alteration THERE

alteration of the commonies of the church. The Licergy was abolified, the day he died. (p. 402, 409.) - The church of England was, in all respects, brought to a conformity to the Puritanical establishment. From the moment the Puritant began to be apparently united, and ranked under one denomination of Presyserians, they began to divide into fresh parties. One part of the House, (the Long parliament,) was composed of Presbyterians, Arietly to called the other, though a minority, of Independents. The difference between these two seets would be hardly worth mentioning, did not their religious spinions influence their political conduct. The Independent fect afpired at the abolition not only of all monarchy, but of all subordination. They formed a majority in the army, made up thiefly of the lowest of the volgar. The Royalifes endeavoured to throw a ridicule on this funaticifm, without being fentible, how much reason they had to apprehend its dangerous consequences. (p. 404, 405.)—Never was a more fingular army affembled than that, which now drew the fword in the parliamentary cause. The officers exercised the office of chaplains; and, during the intervals of action, influcted their

troops by fermons, prayers, and exhortations. Rapturous ecstaties supplied the place of study and reflection; and while they kindled, as they spoke, they ascribed their own warmth to a descent of the spirit from Heaven. The private foldiers employed their vacant hours in prayer, in perufing the Holy Scriptures, in ghoftly conferences. When marching to the field of battle, the hymn and the ejaculation mixed their notes with those of the trumpet." (p. 407.)-" The civil war was now over, and the parliament had now no enemy to fear, except those very troops, by which they had extended their overgrown authority. The division between the Independents and the Presbyterians became more apparent. The majority in the House, (the Long parliament) were of the Presbyterian fect; but the majority of the army were staunch Independents. At the bead of this feet was CROMWELL. (p. 413.)-The very fame conduct, which had formerly been used with fuccess by the parliament against their fovereign, was now put in practice by the army against the parliament. Cromwell began by accusing eleven members of the House, (the Long parliament,) as guilty of high treason, and enemies

enemies to the army. The members accused, were the leaders of the Presbyterian party; the very men, who had prescribed such rigorous measures to the King, and now, in their turn, were threatened with popular refentment. The citizens of London faw an oppreffive parliament now subjected to a more oppressive army. (p. 415, 416, 417.)-The Independent army, at the head of whom was CROMWELL, on one hand, and the Presbyterians in the name of either House, on the other hand, treated separately with the King in private. (p. 419.)-As foon as the army had gained a complete victory over the House of Commons, the Independents began to abate of their expressions of duty and respect. (p. 420.)-The parliament faw no other method of destroying military power, but to depress it by the kingly. But all was now too late; for the rebellious army, (the Independent army,) began to demand vengeance on the King .- The next day Colonel Pride, at the head of two regiments, blockaded the House, (the Long parliament,) and seized in the passage forty-one members of the Presbyterian party. Above a bundred and fixty members more were excluded: and none were allowed

of the Independents. Nothing now remained, after the constitution had been destroyed, and the religion of the country had been abolished, but to murder the King." (p. 425, 426.)

During the usurpation of Cromwell, we find * that "the persons, pitched upon by him for exercifing the important trust of a Parliament, were the lowest, meanest, and the most ignorant among the Citizens, and the very dregs of the Fanatics. (p. 15.)-This shadow of a Parliament being dissolved, the Officers, by their own authority, declared Cromwell, Protector of the common-wealth of England. (p. 17.) -The standing army (the Independent army) was alone fufficient for Cromwell's purpose; for, while possessed of that instrument, he could mould the rest of the constitution to his pleasure at any time." (p. 19.) -After the death of Cromwell, " the Officers being left to themselves, determined to replace the remnant of the Old Parliament, which had beheaded the King. This was called the good old cause, from their attachment to Republican principles. (p. 31.)-The PRESEY-

[·] Goldsmith's History of England, vol. iii.

TERIANS had long been so barrassed by the false-bood, the folly, and the tyranny of their INDEPENDENT coadjutors, that they longed for nothing so ardently, as the King's restoration. These, therefore, joined to the Royalists, formed a decisive majority on every contest; and without noise, but with steady resolution, determined to call back the King. (p. 39.)—When the Act of Uniformity passed, after the restoration of Charles II., above two thousand of the Presbyterian Clergy relinquished their cures in one day." (p. 49.)*

I thought it necessary to be thus copious in my quotations, in order to enable the public to form a decisive and correct judgment; that they may not be led away, by the boldness of your affertions, to believe, that the Author of the Appeal, who is, I presume, what he has professed, a Clergyman in the diocese of Salisbury, has published "gross libels, and palpable false-boods;" for it is now pretty clear, to whom these charges may, with more propriety, and with greater strictness, be applied. I have proved every word, which that gentleman has afferted;

[·] See the whole Reign of Charles I.

and more. I have proved, that the Diffenters were "the principal and active promoters of the unhappy civil war, and all the diffresful circumstances, and tragical events, which marked the reign of the unfortunate Charles." I have proved, that the Diffenters " subverted, in that contest, the first principles of the constitution, and brought the unhappy King to the block." I have proved, that, " after these successful attempts, they not only feated Cromwell upon his vacated throne, under the fictitious denomination of Protector, but also established, upon an immoveable base, his usurped authority." And, though you deny the fact, I have proved, that the Long Parliament was composed of Diffenters; and that "the common notion, among prejudiced and ignorant people, that the Diffenters have been the authors of former calamities, is not groundless." (Apology, p. 25, 26.) They bave been the " authors of former calamities," and may, for aught I know, though I do not charge them with it, be "ftill plotting new ones." I have proved, that " the whole collective body" of Puritans, which was the great original stock, from which sprung forth various branches of other denominations, " bave difplayed

played the same hostility to regal government; that whatever difference of opinion has arisen among them, on the subject of religion, they bave been united in the fame inveterate hatred, against regal, as well as episcopal government;" and that, to obtain their political objects, they first " alienated the attachment of the people to the established church, as the ground-work and foundation of their attacks upon unguarded Monarchy." Since you have produced (p. 25.) "a zealous Churchman" to affirm, "the tragedy of the King's death was at the contrivance of the army," the majority of that army I have proved, confisted of Independents. What were the religious and political fentiments of the Independent feet, during the reign of Charles I. we have been told by the AUTHOR of the AP-PEAL, from the same authority. What are, in the present day their sentiments on these subjects, we would wish to hear from you, their reputed provincial LEADER; should any credit, after this conviction, be thought due to you. I have proved also, that the Dissenters of that period no fooner fucceeded in their attacks upon the established Church, than they began to affault unguarded Monarchy; and their overthrow

throw of Monarchy and "their attachment to Republican principles were called the good old eause." Nor would the Presbyterians, it appears, at length, " have ardently longed for the King's restoration, had they not been so barrassed by the falsebood, the folly, and the tyranny of their INDEPENDENT coadjutors." Well, therefore, might the Author of the Appeal call your " hatred against regal as well as episcopal government, a permanent and fundamental prin-If " forty-feven of your most eminent Ministers in London figned a protest against the murder of their Sovereign, and afterwards fiftyfeven of them published a vindication of themfelves from the unjust aspersion," as you affirm in your Apology, (p. 25.) it proves only their own personal disapprobation of that sanguinary act; and that they were accused of his murder by their fellow-citizens, even at that period.

You have faid, (p. 17.) "is it not an invasion of the prerogative of God, who judgeth the heart; as well as illiberal in a great degree; to attribute to men other motives, than those, they profess, until, by their outward conduct, they are convicted of infincerity?" To the truth of this affirmative question I very readily subscribe

scribe under certain limitations. But it is from your outward conduct, that the Author of the Appeal has (p. 32.) drawn his conclusions, respecting your political views. You have lately displayed, he there tells us, and you admit the truth of it, " uncommon exertion to proselyte the inferior members of fociety" to your religious persuasion. A similar line of conduct was purfued by your ancestors, at the time they intended to overthrow the constitution. They first "alienated the attachment of the people to the established Church; and then successfully attacked unguarded monarchy." It is, I repeat it, from your conduct, compared with the conduct of your ancestors, that the Author of the Appeal has inferred your present political intentions. I fincerely hope, his inference may not be realized by its execution. But in the mean time, it must be allowed, that his conclusion from the preceding premises is logically just: and his warning, the laudable exercise of a vigilant, a loyal, and a patriotic spirit. The established Clergy would fcorn, I will be bold to fay, to impute to any set of men motives, which their conduct does not justify. If, in the dead of night, I discover a notorious robber concealed

in my house, is it unfair to conclude, that his defigns are of a plundering nature? Should an hostile fleet appear off the British coast, and prepare to land armed men, would an Englishman be justified in not warning his countrymen of their danger, because they have not actually landed? Should a loaded musket, or a naked bayonet, Sir, be pointed at your own breast by a man, who had before attempted your life; he may perhaps say, I intend you no hurt; but would you believe him? Would not you put yourself in a posture of defence? You inquire, (p. 29.) "does not the established Church stand on too firm a foundation of laws and statutes, custom and general opinion, for the puny endeavours of our poor Itinerants to overturn her?" I will answer this question by another. Had not the established Church the same foundation of laws and statutes, custom and general opinion," in the reign of Charles I., to support her; and yet that Church, together with the Monarchy, was overturned by your INDEPEN-DENT ancestors. The Royalists of that period difregarded and laughed at the Fanatics, "without being then sensible of the dangerous. confequences" of their inattention. Very feafonably, there-

therefore, are the friends to Monarchy exhorted; at this critical juncture, to be "circumspect, vigilant, and suspicious of all your movements, both religious and political;" and to "fcrutinize with a prying eye the dark defigns of thefe infidious men." (Apology, p. 43.) We can judge what they are, and what they would be, had they the upper hand, from what they have You have endeavoured to make us believe, by your apparent candour, your positive affertions, your plaufible statement of motives, and fophistical arguments, that your ancestors were innocent of the blood of their Sovereign; were lamb-like, harmless, fincere,* conscientious, pious men; actuated by no other motive, than of doing good to their fellow-citizens; and that their descendants, in general, are the same innocent innoxious creatures. But, having proved the falseness of your statements in one case, whether ignorantly, or designedly, is best known to yourself, we may reasonably sufpect the truth of them in the other; particularly as they rest on your bare word.

Having no intention of again addressing you

[·] For proof of their fincerity, fee the next and last page.

in this public manner, I will now take my leave. Suspicious of what you may do, from what you bave done, the Author of the Appeal has performed, in my opinion, no more than his duty, as a loyal subject, in warning his countrymen, at this eventful period, against any political defigns, you may be induced to form, in consequence of your late "numerous Though you have (p. 27, 28.) been increase." very profuse in your declarations of attachment to our constitution, and the Royal family, and I wish not to impeach your personal loyalty, as an individual; yet, I think, it becomes me, as a friend to my country, to observe, that equally profuse, in their declarations of attachment, were your Puritanical ancestors, in the reign of the unfortunate Charles; even at the time, they were plotting his destruction. No wonder then, that the Author of the Appeal should say, (p. 34.) that "your political defigns it has been your adopted practice to conceal under the veil of hypocrify." But, as you may have the prefumption to deny this also, and I have no defire to continue a correspondence with you, I will prove what I have faid, and the proof of it shall close my Letter:-" One of the most disgusting strokes,

strokes, in the Puritanical character of the times. was, gentle language and bumble cant, in the midst of treason; and their flattery to their Prince, while they were attempting to detbrone and destroy him."* Date of Berry Library Line to the Army favor

• Goldsmith's History of England, vol. ii. p. 371, 372.

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